1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the money weekly to his wives for petty market purchases and does all major purchases of food and clothing on his own. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation, and most of the gift-giving engaged in by himself and others in the household. Except for the sale of cooked food, pottery production, and female hair dressing, men control all income producing work of any kind in the entire society.

Households as Consumers

Almost all people in Bornu use, obtain, or eat the things they need because they are members of particular households or are related to a nearby household as a subordinate of its household head. The patterns of consumption vary enormously from that of a rural peasant to that of a wealthy trader or political leader in the city. However, the vast bulk of the population stays within a fairly uniform range that involves a relatively low level of consumption. Most families, especially those in rural areas, eat two meals a day; one between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M. and the other in the early evening between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M. Men of the compound and their male friends eat together while the women eat separately. Smaller snacks are eaten during the day, and in the city it is common to eat more often especially among salaried workers who return home for breakfast about 9:00 to 9:30 A.M. and finish the work day at 2:00 to 2:30 P.M. at which time they eat a noon-day meal. The average rural household consumes about eight pounds of millet (the staple grain food) every day, or about one and a half tons per year. The millet comes from farm products used by the household plus any buying that has to be done to augment this. For those few at the higher end of the social scale food bills can be enormous. One political leader in the capital claims that during his heyday he used to feed as many as seventy people a day and had to have a very smoothly-running household to get this much food processed and ready for his guests on a daily basis. In the ordinary peasant household men give their wives money on a weekly basis to purchase condiments for the staple food and sometimes meat as well although many of the richer men prefer to buy meat themselves. The money, usually anywhere from thirty cents to about $1.50 is given to the wife, or to each wife, or sometimes to the senior wife who then divides it among the co-wives.[1]

To an outsider Kanuri food seems almost infinitely expandable. I have often watched one bowl of food brought into the presence of a household head. He would glance around at the half dozen or so of us present and then ask us to join him, as he had to do by custom. On the other hand household heads have complained to me that they feed too many. "But what can we do?" they say, friends and would-be clients or subordinates know when food is to be brought, and they simply appear, at which point custom forces the host to be gracious. Those who eat continually at a friend's or a relative's house are in his debt and he may use their services as he wishes. This is one of the principal means by which clientship starts to operate. If the client eats with the patron, and the patron asks for services, and if both are satisfied, the relationship soon becomes an established one.

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as

[1] Nigerian money is in pounds, shillings, and pence. I have translated values here at the rate of $2.80 American to £1 Nigerian.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life; go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

178
433 orary peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash
648 crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy, especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and organization of the administration had been built up in the slow, "steady" years between the wars and now a "development" program was needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A. salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and <u>needs</u>.

[511]

178 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
619 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
648 brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact not only with the rest of Borma, but into a growing unity of sentiments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim population of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri
177 has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of prop-
556 erty by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Mugumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

Consumption

511 128 In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

264 For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male
262 head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of
264 millet flour (penisetum typhoideum) made into porridge or dumplings (buri argumbe) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, cocra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet.(1)

In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 zaka(2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half zaka per person. Using the zaka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Magumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 zaka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

(1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

(2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A zaka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four zaka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one sa (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 sa per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 zaka per buhu. Zaka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

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The expenditure for condiments, vegetables, cooking oil, meat or fish, etc. varies from household to household, for this reflects the individual tastes, and more especially the standard of living of any particular family unit. The lowest reported was 2/6d per week for an unmarried man whose aged mother cooked for him and herself in their small compound, while the highest was £5.5.0 (105/-) given by the District Head to his wife for the meat, fish, rice, chickens, condiments, oil, etc. In about two-thirds of the cases, however, the figures fell between 3/- and 5/- per household per week. If the person had any identification with urban life, as several did who were in Magumeri for the farming season, then this weekly expenditure seemed to be somewhat higher, ranging between 5/- and 9/- per week.

Using 3/- to 5/- as the weekly market money that the rural peasant householder spends on additional necessities for his staple foods (median value of roughly 4/-) an annual minimum for this part of the peasant diet can be set at about £10.0.0 for the average (four person) family. That is to say, the figures from budget interviews in combination with the survey material, give a rough estimate of the minimum amount(measured in cash values) required to keep this constructed "average" household unit in its nutrient requirements at prevailing (1955-57) prices — this is £4l sterling per annum (approximately $125.00).(1)

262 Although the consumption of millet porridge is fairly standard for all levels of the population - what goes into the soup, and the scale of differences among other foods eaten, varies with socio-

(1) This does not mean that the average family buys $125.00 worth of food per year since almost every family grows some part of its nutrient requirements. See above p.272 for the approximate amounts of millet produced by various occupation groups.

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In a culture where houses are often extremely similar from person to person, within any one strata of society, clothing tends to give expression to individual tastes and desires. On a broader scale, difference in dress reflects class divisions and higher and lower echelons of the status dimensions discussed in previous chapters, giving cultural support and emphasis to those social distinctions. Thus on a normal work day in Magumeri these differences are readily apparent.

• 511 The actual amount of expenditure for clothing is a function of income and social status and seems to range for many of the peasant population (over two-thirds of the budgets) between three and thirteen pounds sterling per annum for each male household head. If we take £9.0.0. as a rough median value per rural male householder, the calculated rural expenditure for food (£41.0.0) and clothing (£9.0.0) is about £50.0.0 per year, in cash and kind (translated into cash values at local Bornu prices).

[562] The following table, taken from nineteen of the more reliable budgets, illustrates the relationship between occupation and clothing expenditures, as well as pointing up the fact that most women's clothes are bought by men. The extremes of the table are: (1) a District Head who buys a larger amount and a better quality of clothing as a mark of his high status, as well as giving away many gifts of robes to his followers; (2) a servant of the District Head who buys no clothing at all, since the D.H. supplies him with his needs; (3) a wealthy trader from the city who utilizes clothing expenditures, among other things, to raise his social status commensurate to his recent rise in wealth.

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ø (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Owerongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ø All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment, ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand, religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

511 431 511 796 517

In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lie-

517 tening to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, re-
511 quire expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or
[554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two min-
[833] ute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
[524] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
(517) done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
[177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
(273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expend-
[302] itures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (Salonacea Incanum) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 302 511 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor, 273 [511] and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor, little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more widespread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the 276 272 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chewing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 789 [432] A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate greater success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration. 789 177 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo" for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time, money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

302 sexes and constitutes one of the minor expenses to be reckoned with by
301 the ceremonial initiator. Men and women wear rings of silver or some other white metal and women also wear bracelets, anklets, hairpins, ear
302 plugs, and necklaces. Women darken their eyes with antimony, and colour their front teeth red. Males have their heads shaved by a barber once every two or three weeks, sometimes letting it go for an entire month. Women dress their hair every fifteen days. Female friends, relatives or neighbours dress one another's hair in turn. Men give their wives a regular allowance to cover the cost of hair dressing which includes expenditures for pomade, cloves, special needlelike objects for braiding and other materials that go into the elaborate confection of a Kanuri woman's hair styling. Men and women also (not universally) dye their hands and feet in indigo and hanna respectively.

511 In the budget interviews the composite expenditure for ceremonials, entertainments, stimulants and cosmetics ranged between £3.0.0 to £12.0.0 (per annum) with one person lower (£2.0.0) and three higher (£15.0.0, £20.0.0 and £88.0.0) - those higher were two N.A. officials and a city trader; all, therefore, non-peasants. Taking the median point as our measure of central tendency, we can allow about £8.0.0 sterling for this category of consumption in the average (four person) rural household. This brings the calculated rural expenditure in cash value to £58.0.0 per household.

Operating Expenses

Operating costs are those expenditures which are not consumed for their own value as entertainment, or subsistence items, but are necessary expenses, which maintain the economic unit as a productive entity. In this category are such things as housing, tools, labour, land, transportation, taxes, fuel and seeds.

571 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372. 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

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231 of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

342 There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is
[178] the predominant variety. Today burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

511 With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of
[356] huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase
[351] proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

342 Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the
476 lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and
565 relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

241 464 593 The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists (1) provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups (2) reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with settled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

241 592 571

241 476 571

241 464 571

• 511 Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

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(1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level (P = 2.14).

(2) This difference is significant at the .05 level (P = 4.05) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
[511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56, £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements, buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a discussion of credit).

511 The following table summarizes the quantitative data on consumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or constructed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional information from a larger farm survey.(1)

TABLE XIX

Consumption in Rural Bornu

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total	£65.($182.00)	100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires approximately $180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependance
44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

441 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maidu-
439 guri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Makurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought ground-
438 nuts for sale in the capital.

441 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly
57 involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its bərzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what
452 might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This
[511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

631 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of
642 political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu
665 have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the DH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

• 511 Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives
[433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of $180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living".(1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1)This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is,the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

511 and services at current Bornu prices, which a family needed to occupy a normal place in the culture during 1956-57. In America, the average rural family requires about fifteen to twenty times as much in cash values at North American prices. Or put another way, the Kanuri peasant family has relatively few wants; food, clothing, shelter, tools, entertainments, cosmetics, ceremonials, some form of status in the community, self respect, are perhaps the major components of Kanuri socio-economic life. In comparison, an American wants a multitude of government services, schools, electricity, protection against foreign aggression, old age pensions, unemployment insurance etc., regular holidays, job security, and a host of other items which the Kanuri are not aware of yet, but which seem like necessities to North Americans.

It should also be noted that the Kanuri, although backward materially, are not at all faced with the hardships presented to the people of the overpopulated regions of the world. Thus in India, caloric intake per capita is estimated to be 24.4% below a calculated re-
[146] quirement of 2250 per day. As we have seen, the Kanuri are not generally underfed, although there is a seasonal variation in food supply, and their diet lacks certain nutrient requirements in vitamins and protein.

434 The consumption data should not be construed to suggest that because 76% of Kanuri consumption is for food and clothing, it follows then that the Kanuri are inordinately interested in these items. This statistic only demonstrates again the low level of economic development in the area. For given higher incomes the proportion of total income taken up by food and clothing will decrease, as it does today among the upper classes. To the Kanuri higher income means more food and clothing, but it also means much more expensive ceremonials, better housing, and above all more subordinates who are partially supported by the

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

156 571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of bbrzum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

178 511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

178 511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes 178 511 369 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

433 The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predicability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.

2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialization of labour

178 571 369 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social system of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census recognized 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7) put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associations based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties, trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organizations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 571 511 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a tendency is set up in favour of horisontal rather than vertical relationships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will become a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relationships.

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000 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prophesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is painfully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable